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ABSTRACT

Statistical information pertaining to one of the most important changes in the American economy in this century--the increase in the number of women who work outside the home--is presented as an introduction to the broader range of topics which will be considered by the Advisory Committee on the Economic Role of Women. Job-related aspects of women's economic role dealt with in the report are: participation in the labor force, the historical pattern, the working woman today, unemployment, the widening in the reported male-female unemployment differential, education and the occupational distribution, earnings, and direct discrimination versus role differentiation. Special problems which the report addresses are: female-headed households, income tax, and child care. Government action in promoting equality of opportunity is reviewed. A supplementary table is offered, representing the occupational distribution of women in 1950, 1960, and 1970. (AJ)

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THE ECONOMIC ROLE OF WOMEN

Reprinted from
Economic Report of the President, 1973

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CHAPTER 4

The Economic Role of Women

ONE OF THE MOST important changes in the American economy in this century has been the increase in the proportion of women who work outside the home. This increase is the most striking aspect of the expansion of the role of women in the economy.

The addition of millions of women to the labor force has contributed substantially to the increase of total output. This is most obvious if we focus attention on the output that is measured and included in the gross national product (GNP). But even if we subtract from the contribution of working women to the GNP the value of the work they would have done at home, there has been an addition to total output. Most of the benefits of this additional output accrue to the women who produce it, and to their families. There are, however, also direct benefits to the society at large, including the taxes paid on the women's earnings.

Concern is sometimes expressed that the increase in women in the labor force will reduce the employment opportunities for men and raise their unemployment. There is no reason to think that would happen and there is no sign that it has happened. The work to be done is not a fixed total. As more women enter employment and earn incomes they or their families buy more goods and services which men and women are employed to produce. A sudden surge of entrants into the labor force might cause difficulties of adjustment and, consequently, unemployment, but the entry of women into the labor force has not been of that character.

Women work outside the home for the same reasons as men. The basic reason is to get the income that can be earned by working. Whether—for either men or women—work is done out of necessity or by choice is a question of definition. If working out of necessity means working in order to sustain biologically necessary conditions of life, probably a small proportion of all the hours of work done in the United States, by men or women, is necessary. If working out of necessity means working in order to obtain a standard of living which is felt by the worker to be desirable, probably almost all of the work done by both men and women is necessary.

The Employment Act of 1946 sets forth a goal of "maximum employment." We understand that to mean employment of those who want to work, without regard to whether their employment is, by some definition,

necessary. This goal applies equally to men and to women. The Act also sets forth a goal of "maximum production." We understand the meaning of that goal which is relevant to the present context to be that people should be able to work in the employments in which they will be most productive. That also applies equally to men and women.

Although the goals apply equally to men and women, some of the obstacles to their achievement apply especially to women. Women have gained much more access to market employment than they used to have, but they have not gained full equality within the market in the choice of jobs, opportunities for advancement, and other matters related to employment and compensation. To some extent the cause of this discrepancy is direct discrimination. But it is also the result of more subtle and complex factors originating in cultural patterns that have grown up in most societies through the centuries. In either case, because the possibilities open to women are restricted, they are not always free to contribute a full measure of earnings to their families, to develop their talents fully, or to help achieve the national goal of "maximum production."

ADVISORY COMMITTEE ON THE ECONOMIC ROLE OF WOMEN

Recognizing the urgency of these problems and the importance of leadership to change the attitudes which underlie them, the President announced in September the formation of the Advisory Committee on the Economic Role of Women. The committee will meet periodically with the Chairman of the Council of Economic Advisers, providing a forum for the interchange of information, ideas, and points of view. This interchange will increase the Council's own expertise on the economics of women. Because the function of the Council of Economic Advisers is to advise the President on a wide variety of economic issues, its association with the committee will ensure that the interests of women will be represented in economic policy decisions.

With these goals in mind, in January 1973 the Chairman of the Council of Economic Advisers asked 21 men and women representing diverse areas of expertise to serve on the committee. They include officials from the Federal Government agencies whose activities are important to the progress of women, representatives from business, finance, education, and other private institutions, and specialists on the economic problems of women from sociology, psychology, economics, and the law. Among the topics that the committee will explore are job training and counseling in the schools, special problems of minority women, problems related to child care, women's performance at work, the extent of job discrimination, women's access to credit, and legislative action on taxes and social security that may have a different effect on women than on men.

Another, more fundamental, issue affecting women in the economy underlies many of the others. The roles played by women and men have been

sharply differentiated. It is obvious that only women are capable of childbearing. But along with this biologically determined role, women have by tradition come to assume primary responsibility for child care and home management, while men have primary responsibility for the family's financial support. Until very recently this division of labor within the family has had such general acceptance as to impose limitations on women's work outside the home. The way in which the economic role of women evolves thus hinges on the most fundamental societal patterns, and the extent to which social action can and should influence further change in these patterns will be one of the most difficult and important questions the committee must consider.

By way of an introduction to the problem, this chapter looks at job-related aspects of the economic role of women. The committee will, of course, deal with a much broader range of topics.

PARTICIPATION IN THE LABOR FORCE

In 1900 about 20 percent of all women were in the work force (Table 21). In the succeeding decades this percentage hardly increased, reaching about 25 percent by 1940. With World War II, however, the movement rapidly accelerated, and by 1972 the percentage of women 16 years and older in the work force had risen to 43.8. Single women and women widowed, divorced, or separated, have always had higher labor force participation rates than married women living with their husbands. By 1950, the participation of women in the two former groups had already reached levels close to those of today. Thus, the upward trend in labor force participation since World War II has been due almost entirely to the

TABLE 21.—*Women in the labor force, selected years, 1900-72*

Year	Women in labor force (thousands)	Women in labor force as percent of	
		Total labor force	All women of working age
1900	5,114	18.1	20.4
1910	7,889	20.9	25.2
1920	8,430	20.4	23.3
1930	10,679	22.0	24.3
1940	12,845	24.3	25.4
1945	19,270	29.6	35.7
1950	18,412	28.8	33.9
1955	20,584	30.2	35.7
1960	23,272	32.3	37.8
1965	26,232	34.0	39.3
1970	31,560	36.7	43.4
1972	33,320	37.4	43.8

Note.—Data for 1900 to 1940 are from decennial censuses and refer to a single date; beginning 1945 data are annual averages.
For 1900 to 1945 data include women 14 years of age and over; beginning 1950 data include women 16 years of age and over.
Labor force data for 1900 to 1930 refer to gainfully employed workers.
Data for 1972 reflect adjustments to 1970 Census benchmarks.

Sources: Department of Commerce, Bureau of the Census, and Department of Labor, Bureau of Labor Statistics.

changed behavior of married women (Table 22). The first to respond were the more mature married women beyond the usual childbearing years. More recently there has also been a sharp upturn in the labor force participation of younger married women.

The record for men has tended to run in the opposite direction. A secular reduction in time spent in paid work over most men's lifetimes has taken place: A man spends more years at school and enters the labor force later than formerly; he retires earlier, works fewer hours a week, and has longer vacations. Of course these changes have also affected women, but for them the increase in years worked has far outweighed the other work-reducing factors.

In one very important respect, however, the working life patterns of men and women have not merged. The typical man can expect to be in the labor force continuously, for an unbroken block of some 40 years between leaving school and retirement. Of men in the 25–54 year age group, 95.2 percent were in the labor force in 1972. For most women, this continuity in participation is the exception rather than the rule.

TABLE 22.—*Labor force participation rates of women by marital status and age, 1950, 1960 and 1972*

[Percent [1]]

Marital status and year	Total	Age					
		Under 20 years	20–24 years	25–34 years	35–44 years	45–64 years	65 years and over
Single:							
1950	50.5	26.3	74.9	84.6	83.6	70.6	23.8
1960	44.1	25.3	73.4	79.9	79.7	75.1	21.6
1972	54.9	41.9	69.9	84.7	71.5	71.0	19.0
Married, husband present:							
1950	23.8	24.0	28.5	23.8	28.5	21.8	6.4
1960	30.5	25.3	30.0	27.7	36.2	34.2	5.9
1972	41.5	39.0	48.5	41.3	48.6	44.2	7.3
Widowed, divorced, or separated:							
1950	37.8	(2)	45.5	62.3	65.4	50.2	8.8
1960	40.0	37.3	54.6	55.5	67.4	58.3	11.0
1972	40.1	44.6	57.6	62.1	71.7	61.1	9.8

[1] Labor force as percent of noninstitutional population in group specified.
[2] Not available.

Note.—Data relate to March of each year.
Data for 1950 and 1960 are for women 14 years of age and over; data for 1972 are for women 16 years of age and over.

Source: Department of Labor, Bureau of Labor Statistics.

THE HISTORICAL PATTERN

What are the causal factors that induced women to enter the labor force? One might have expected that the strong increases in husbands' real incomes which occurred during the period would have provided an incentive to women not to enter the labor force. This seeming puzzle is resolved, however, when one considers that by entering the labor force women did not leave a life of leisure for work, but rather changed from one kind of

work, work at home, to another kind of work, work in the market. The incentive for women to make this dramatic occupational change came from several developments which made paid work outside the home the increasingly more profitable alternative.

Rapidly rising earnings and expanded job opportunities for women gave a strong impetus to the change. The expansion of job opportunities for women was undoubtedly influenced by the expansion of the service sector of the economy, where employment increased by 77 percent from 1950 to 1970, compared to the increase of 26 percent in the goods-producing industrial sector over the same period. Women have always been more heavily represented in services than in industry, since the service sector offers more white-collar employment and provides more opportunities for part-time work, an especially important feature for women with small children. On the other hand, the increasing supply of women workers perhaps itself contributed to the rapid expansion in the service sector.

The increase in women's educational attainments has also helped to raise the amount they can earn by working. Education may make women more productive in the home, that is, more efficient housekeepers, consumers, and mothers, but education appears to increase still more their productivity in work outside the home. Women with more education earn more, and they are more likely than less educated women to seek work in the market.

Because life expectancy has increased considerably over the century (and more for women than for men), and because most women complete their childbearing at a younger age, women can look forward with more certainty to a longer uninterrupted span of years in the labor force. This lengthening of a woman's expected working life is significant because it increases her return on her investment in training and education: the greater the number of years in which to collect the return the greater is the return.

These increases in the income a woman could potentially earn meant essentially that time spent producing goods and services at home was coming at a higher and higher cost in terms of the income foregone by not working in the market. It made sense then to buy available capital equipment (such as washing machines) which would substitute for some of the housewife's time and free her to go to work. And changes in technology which lowered the cost and increased the array of time-saving devices facilitated the substitution.

The most difficult home responsibility to find a good substitute for is child care; and, although the labor force participation of women with children under 6 years has increased from 12 percent in 1950 to 30 percent in 1971, child-rearing is probably the major factor causing some women to interrupt and others to curtail their careers.

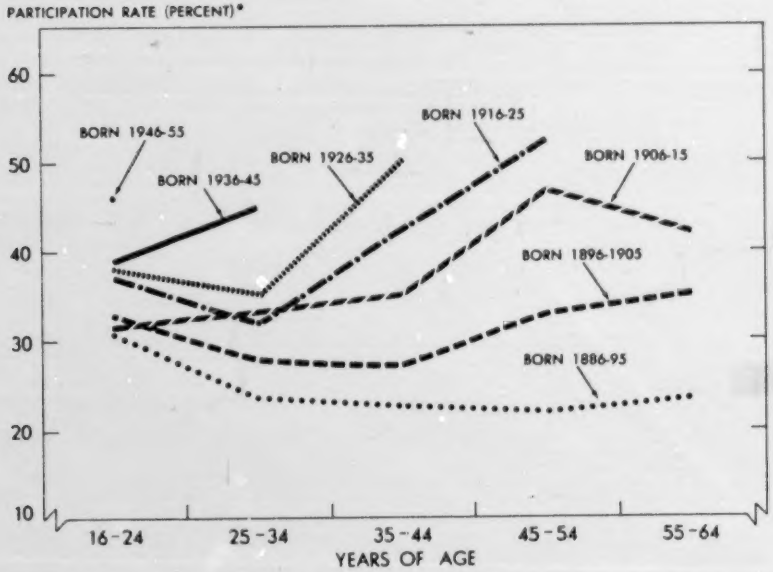
The long-term decline in the average number of children in the family has undoubtedly had a strong influence on the proportion of women entering the labor force. Advances in birth control techniques permit parents not only to reduce the number of births but also to control their timing to

suit a mother's working career. Declines in infant and child mortality may also have encouraged a reduction in births by increasing the parents' expectation that all their children would survive to adulthood. On the other hand, reductions in family size may themselves be influenced by the desire of women to work.

Childbearing has a very noticeable effect on the patterns of women's labor force participation by age. Based on census data, Chart 9 traces the lifetime changes in labor force participation by groups of women born at different times, the earliest group consisting of women born between 1886 and 1895. The chart therefore simulates the actual work history of particular cohorts of women followed longitudinally. According to this chart, the various forces in the economy that have induced women to work have generally had a more powerful effect on women beyond the childbearing ages

Chart 9

Labor Force Participation Over a Working Life of Cohorts of Women Born in Selected Time Intervals, 1886-1955



*TOTAL LABOR FORCE AS PERCENT OF TOTAL NONINSTITUTIONAL POPULATION IN GROUP SPECIFIED.

NOTE: FOR WOMEN BORN BETWEEN 1886 AND 1915, THE FIRST AGE PLOTTED IS 14-24 YEARS. COHORTS REACH EACH AGE INTERVAL ACCORDING TO THE MIDPOINT OF THEIR BIRTH YEARS. THUS, THE COHORT BORN 1886-95 REACHED AGES 25-34 IN 1920 AND AGES 55-64 IN 1950; THE COHORT BORN 1916-25 REACHED AGES 25-34 IN 1950 AND AGES 45-54 IN 1970.

SOURCE: DEPARTMENT OF COMMERCE

than on younger groups. Those increases in labor force participation that have occurred for groups of women reaching the childbearing ages of 20–34 years have been closely associated with declining fertility rates. Thus labor force participation for the group reaching 25–34 years increased substantially from 1930 to 1940, and again between 1960 and 1970, while there was a decline between 1940 and 1950 in the participation of those reaching this age group—the baby boom mothers. Whether the young women now in their twenties have simply postponed having children and will later drop out of the labor force or whether many will continue to work, choosing to have small families or remain childless is, of course, a question of great interest.

THE WORKING WOMAN TODAY

Although the decisions of individual women to work outside the home are undoubtedly based on many different factors, there are some economic factors which seem to be of overriding importance. The necessity to support oneself or others is one obvious reason and, not surprisingly, adult single women and women who have been separated from husbands or widowed are highly likely to work.

The increase in earnings opportunities, which proved to be such a powerful factor influencing the secular growth of women's participation in the labor force, is a similarly powerful factor influencing the pattern of women's participation at any given time. Thus, education and other training which affect the amount a woman can earn are strongly related to women's work patterns. The importance of education is such that, whether a woman is single, married or separated, the more education she has, the more likely she is to work. One striking exception to this pattern is that, among mothers of children under 6 years old, there is scarcely any relation between education and labor force participation. Thus, the rearing of children of preschool age causes all women, regardless of education, to curtail their work outside the home. However, the drop in participation during this child-rearing period is most pronounced for highly educated women who in other circumstances have much higher participation rates.

Although for most women the childbearing period has been reduced, childbearing still means an interruption of outside work. A longitudinal survey of the lifelong work experience of women indicates that among all women who were 30–44 years old in 1967, only 7 percent had worked at least 6 months out of every year since leaving school. Among married women with children the proportion was still lower, dropping to 3 percent. By contrast, 30 percent of childless married women in the same group had worked at least 6 months out of every year. Information on job tenure collected by the Bureau of Labor Statistics illustrates much the same phenomenon. As of January 1968, continuous employment in their current job came to 2.4 years (the median) for women and 4.8 years for men. Job tenure increases with age for both men and women. At ages 45 and over the median was 12.7 years for

men and 6.6 years for women. Since women tend to change jobs less frequently than men, their shorter time spent on any given job is the result of a higher propensity to leave the labor force at least temporarily. In 1964 a survey of women who had dropped out of the labor force in 1962 or 1963 and had not yet reentered was undertaken by the Labor Department in an effort to find out why they had left. Pregnancy was most frequently cited as the primary reason—by 74 percent of the 18- to 24-year-olds and 56 percent of the 25- to 34-year-olds.

Among married women, husband's income does not have a very pronounced effect on work patterns. The median annual income of husbands with working wives was $8,070 in 1971 compared to $8,330 for husbands of wives not in the labor force. Only when husbands' incomes reach the $10,000 and over category does wives' participation decline to any noticeable extent. However, many other things vary with husbands' incomes, such as wives' education and age as well as family size. These other factors are sufficiently important to obscure the simple relation between husband's income and a wife's tendency to work. It should be noted, however, that during a time of hardship, such as when a husband experiences a prolonged spell of unemployment, wives who usually do not work may be compelled to work. Thus, the labor force participation of women with unemployed husbands is generally above that of women with employed husbands.

Although the probability that a black woman will work seems to vary with education and presence of children in much the same way as it does for all women, there is one very striking difference: the labor force participation of black women is higher. Particularly pronounced differences are observed when the comparison of labor force participation is confined to married women living with their husbands. In March 1971, about 53 percent of black wives were in the labor force compared to 40 percent of white wives. One important reason why this difference prevails may be that the earnings of black wives are closer to their husbands' than is the case among white married couples. In 1971 black married women who worked year-round, full-time earned 73 percent as much as black married men who worked year-round, full-time. Among whites the percentage was only 51 percent. Behind these relationships is the fact that black men earn considerably less than white men, while black women's earnings are much closer to white women's earnings.

UNEMPLOYMENT

Women have generally experienced more unemployment than men and this differential has been more pronounced in recent years (Table 23). However, the source of women's unemployment differs from that of men's, and this makes a comparison of unemployment differences more complex than might appear.

TABLE 23.—*Unemployment rates by sex and age, selected years, 1956-72*

[Percent [1]]

Sex and age	1956	1961	1965	1969	1972
All workers	4.1	6.7	4.5	3.5	5.6
Men	3.8	6.4	4.0	2.8	4.9
16–19 years	11.1	17.1	14.1	11.4	15.9
20–24 years	6.9	10.8	6.4	5.1	9.2
25–54 years	3.0	5.1	2.7	1.6	3.1
55 years and over	3.5	5.7	3.3	1.9	3.3
Women	4.9	7.2	5.5	4.7	6.6
16–19 years	11.2	16.3	15.7	13.3	16.7
20–24 years	6.3	9.8	7.3	6.3	9.3
25–54 years	4.1	6.2	4.3	3.5	4.9
55 years and over	3.3	4.4	2.8	2.2	3.4

[1] Unemployment as percent of civilian labor force in group specified.

Source: Department of Labor, Bureau of Labor Statistics.

Some of the difference arises from the way people are classified in our unemployment statistics. A person with a job is not classified as unemployed even though he or she may be searching for another job. However, work at home is not counted as a job. Thus, a woman who may in a real sense be clearly employed in the home while she searches for a job, will be counted as unemployed, unlike the man who searches while on his job.

Most adult men are continuously in the labor force and therefore become unemployed because they have either quit or lost their jobs (Table 24). For women, the picture is different: labor force participation is frequently interrupted, sometimes for several years, but sometimes just for several weeks during the year. Thus, although 59.8 percent of the women 24–54 years old were in the labor force at one time or another during 1971, only 38.2 percent were in the labor force for 50–52 weeks during the year. This high rate of labor force turnover generates unemployment, and it is not surprising to find that in both the tight labor market of 1969 and the looser labor market of 1972 a considerable portion of unemployed women were

TABLE 24.—*Distribution of unemployment of adult men and women by reason for unemployment, 1969 and 1972*

[Percent]

Reason for unemployment	Men 20 years and over		Women 20 years and over	
	1969	1972	1969	1972
Total unemployment	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0
Separated from a job	74.8	75.3	49.9	55.7
Job losers	57.8	62.6	33.0	39.4
Job leavers	17.0	12.7	16.9	16.3
Labor force entrants	25.2	24.6	50.2	44.3
Reentrants	22.4	21.6	44.8	39.4
New entrants	2.8	3.1	5.5	4.9
Unemployment rate	2.1	4.0	3.7	5.4

Note.—Detail may not add to totals because of rounding.

Source: Department of Labor, Bureau of Labor Statistics.

labor force entrants (Table 24). People entering or reentering the labor force tend, however, to be unemployed for relatively short periods, and this is one of the reasons why the duration of unemployment is in general shorter for women than for men (Table 25).

Table 25.—*Unemployment of adult men and women by duration and reason, 1972*

Sex, age, and reason	Total unemployment (thousands)	Percent of total unemployment	
		Unemployment of less than 5 weeks	Unemployment of 15 weeks and over
Men 20 years and over	1,928	37.0	31.6
Lost last job	1,207	33.6	35.3
Left last job	245	44.9	24.9
Reentered labor force	416	41.7	25.4
Never worked before	59	39.0	28.8
Women 20 years and over	1,610	48.4	22.8
Lost last job	635	35.6	33.4
Left last job	262	50.0	19.2
Reentered labor force	635	59.8	14.4
Never worked before	79	55.7	16.5

Note.—Detail may not add to totals because of rounding.

Source: Department of Labor, Bureau of Labor Statistics.

In order to know what significance to attach to the observation that the greater unemployment of women appears to be related to their greater labor force turnover, it is of course necessary to know more about the causes of the turnover. Some have stressed that excessive labor force turnover indicates a poor job market. According to this view, women drop out of the labor market because lack of opportunities has discouraged them from continuing the search. Evidence for this point of view is cited from Labor Department surveys, which indicate that some of those women out of the labor force are there because they do not believe they could find work. In 1972, 525,000 women or 1.2 percent of those out of the labor force were reported in this category.

Another school of thought, however, stresses that the labor force turnover of women and the unemployment it generates is largely induced by factors external to the current labor market, such as the uneven pressures of home responsibilities. Several kinds of evidence support this point of view. Unemployment among women appears to be related to the nature of home responsibilities. For example, in 1971 the unemployment rate for married women with children under 3 years was 11.7 percent, compared to the rate of 4.5 percent for married women with no children under 18 years. Moreover, on numerous surveys women cite pregnancy, home responsibilities, or husband's relocation as primary reasons for leaving the job or the labor force.

It would of course be interesting to know more about the unemployment experience of women who do remain continuously in the labor force. Some evidence from the Labor Department's longitudinal survey indicates that women who were in the labor force in both 1967 and 1969 had considerably lower unemployment in 1969 than those who were in the labor force in 1969 but not in 1967. The unemployment rate in 1969 for the group who were also in the labor force 2 years previously was 2.9 percent, compared to the rate of 6.9 percent for the women who were in the labor force only in 1969. However, this was still above the rate of 2.1 percent for men 20 years old and over in 1969, as measured by the household survey.

Although movement in and out of the labor force is probably the most important factor leading to higher unemployment for women compared to men, two other factors seem to be important. Women with less time on a job and in whom the employer had made negligible training investments are more vulnerable to layoffs. Finally, one additional factor which doubtless contributes to unemployment of married women is the difficulty in maximizing employment opportunities for both the husband and the wife. A wife seldom is free to migrate to wherever her own prospects are best.

It is important to emphasize, because the point is often misunderstood, that to explain the unemployment of women is not to excuse it or belittle it or to place blame on the women who are unemployed. The unemployment of women who seek work is costly, to themselves, their families, and the Nation. Our goal should be to reduce this unemployment wherever that can be done by means which are not themselves more costly. Some unemployment entails more loss for the workers involved and to the economy as a whole than other; some is more amenable to correction by the persons directly affected than other unemployment. But these distinctions do not run along sex lines.

THE WIDENING IN THE REPORTED MALE-FEMALE UNEMPLOYMENT DIFFERENTIAL

During the 1960's the differential in reported unemployment between women and men widened. Two factors may help to explain the change. The first has to do with changes in the unemployment survey questionnaire introduced in 1967.

Persons are classified as unemployed if they have not worked during the survey week, were available to work during the survey week, and had made specific efforts to find a job such as looking in the "want-ads" section of the newspaper or going to an employment agency. Prior to 1967 the period of jobseeking efforts was not specified, and it is believed that many respondents interpreted the question narrowly to mean that one had to have looked for a job in the week just prior to the survey. In 1967 the unemployment question was changed by specifying 4 weeks preceding the survey as the point of reference. Data from samples taken on both the old and new

basis are available for 1966. In that year the unemployment rate for women aged 20 years or older was 0.4 percentage points higher on the new basis than on the old. This increase in the rate for women as a result of the change in the questionnaire has been interpreted as reflecting the likelihood that the jobseeking activities of women are more intermittent. As a result of lengthening the reference period to 4 weeks, persons who had briefly looked for work but who were not actively seeking work by the time of the survey week would be added to the unemployed under the new definition.

Although the reported unemployment of some men may also have been increased as a result of the effective lengthening of the unemployment reference period, other changes in the questionnaire in 1967, which were evidently unimportant for women, seemed to reduce the reported unemployment of men. Indeed these changes were of sufficient importance that the net effect was to lower the unemployment rate for men 20 years old and over by 0.3 percentage points. The unemployment rate for men was evidently lowered for two reasons: By a reclassification from unemployed to employed of persons absent from work because of a vacation or a labor dispute but at the same time looking for work; and by the fact that persons stating that they had given up the search for work were no longer counted as unemployed.

The 1966 samples indicate that as a result of the changes in the unemployment questionnaire, which increased the rate for women and lowered the rate for men, the reported male-female unemployment differential, comparing men and women 20 years old and over, increased from 1.3 percentage points to 2.0 percentage points. We cannot, of course, be sure that effects of the same precise magnitude have persisted ever since the new definitions were substituted in 1967. However, the definitional change has undoubtedly contributed to a wider unemployment differential since the late 1960's.

Another factor contributing to the widening of the unemployment differential may be the rapid increase in the labor force participation of women during the 1960's, since its effect was to increase the proportion of women entering or reentering the labor force, with an accompanying increase in unemployment.

EDUCATION AND THE OCCUPATIONAL DISTRIBUTION

Some of the hesitancy of women to enter or to stay in the labor force is undoubtedly the result of societally determined factors that restrict the possibilities open to them. The low representation of women in positions of responsibility is striking. Despite gradual gains, progress has not been sufficient to alter the picture significantly (Table 26). Exactly how much of this situation has been imposed on women because of prejudice and how much of it derives from a voluntary adjustment to a life divided between home responsibilities and work remains obscure. The existence of discriminatory

TABLE 26.—*Women as a percent of persons in several professional and managerial occupations, 1910–70*

[Percent]

Occupational group	1910	1920	1930	1940	1950	1960	1970
Clergymen	0.6	1.4	2.2	2.4	4.0	2.3	2.9
College presidents, professors, and instructors [1]	18.9	30.2	31.9	26.5	23.2	24.2	28.2
Dentists	3.1	3.3	1.9	1.5	2.7	2.3	3.5
Editors and reporters	12.2	16.8	24.0	25.0	32.0	36.6	40.6
Engineers	[2]	[2]	[2]	.4	1.2	.8	1.6
Lawyers and judges	.5	1.4	2.1	2.5	3.5	3.5	4.9
Managers, manufacturing industries	1.7	3.1	3.2	4.3	6.4	7.1	6.3
Physicians	6.0	5.0	4.4	4.7	6.1	6.9	9.3

[1] Data for 1920 and 1930 probably include some teachers in schools below collegiate rank. The Office of Education estimates the 1930 figure closer to 28 percent.
[2] Less than one tenth of 1 percent.

Note.—Data are from the decennial censuses. Data for 1910 and 1920 include persons 10 years of age and over; data for 1930 to 1970 include persons 14 years of age and over.

Source: Department of Commerce, Bureau of the Census.

barriers may discourage women from seeking the training or adopting the life style it would take to achieve a responsible and highly demanding job. On the other hand, women who expect to marry and have children and who also put their role at home first are subject to considerable uncertainty about their future attachment to the labor force. In the latter case, incentives to train extensively for a career would be few; and, once such women started working, the restrictions imposed by home responsibilities could limit their ability to take a job requiring long hours or the intensive commitment that most high-status positions demand. At the same time, changes in the accepted social roles of men and women would alter current patterns if they changed women's expectations about their future in the labor force.

For whatever reasons, from school onward the career orientation of women differs strikingly from that of men. Most women do not have as strong a vocational emphasis in their schooling; and for those who do, the preparation is usually for a stereotyped "female" occupation.

Although the probability of graduating from high school has been somewhat greater for women than for men, it is less probable that a woman will complete college, and still less that she will enter graduate school. The representation of women consequently declines as they move upward through the stages of education beyond high school. In 1971, 50 percent of all high school graduates were women and 45 percent of first-year college students were women. During 1971 women earned 44 percent of the bachelor's degrees granted, 40 percent of the master's degrees, and 14 percent of the doctorates.

Even more striking are the differences in the courses taken. At both the undergraduate and advanced levels, women are heavily represented in English, languages, and fine arts—the more general cultural fields. They are poorly represented in disciplines having a strong vocational emphasis and promising a high pecuniary return. In 1970, 9.3 percent of the baccalaureates in business and 3.9 percent of the master's in business went to women.

In the biological sciences, women had a larger share, taking about 30 percent of the bachelor's and master's degrees and 16 percent of the doctorates. But only 8.5 percent of the M.D.'s and 5.6 percent of the law degrees went to women. Most of these percentages, low as they are, represent large gains from the preceding year.

The situation is quite different in the so-called women's occupations. In 1971 women received 74 percent of the B.A.'s and 56 percent of the M.A.'s given in education. In library science, which is even more firmly dominated by women, they received 82 percent of all degrees in 1971. And in nursing, 98 percent of all the degrees went to women.

It is not surprising, then, to find that women do not have anything like the same occupational distribution as men. Even within an educational level, significant differences remain in the distribution across broad occupational categories (Table 27). Although 77 percent of women college graduates in 1970 were in the professions, mostly as teachers, only 4.8 percent, compared to 20 percent for men, were classified as managers. At high school levels, the proportion of women working as skilled craftsmen is minuscule, although a substantial proportion of women are blue-collar workers in the lower paying operative categories.

The supplement to this chapter, appearing in Appendix A, summarizes in detail women's representation in occupations more narrowly defined. Although women are found in all occupations, the extent of occupational segregation by sex is large. In broad outline, this situation does not appear to have undergone any dramatic change between 1950 and 1970, although there are several examples of large increases in the proportion of women in less typically "female" occupations (for example busdrivers, bartenders, and compositors and typesetters).

TABLE 27.—*Occupational distribution of employed persons by education and sex, 1970*

[Percent]

Occupational groups	High school				College graduates	
	1–3 years		4 years		Men	Women
	Men	Women	Men	Women		
Total employed	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0
Professional, technical, and kindred workers	2.8	3.6	7.6	7.1	58.9	77.4
Managers and proprietors	6.9	2.9	11.4	3.8	20.1	4.8
Salesworkers	5.6	10.2	7.5	8.1	8.6	2.3
Clerical and kindred workers	6.8	25.3	10.0	50.4	4.9	12.1
Craftsmen	25.6	2.4	26.4	1.8	3.3	.4
Operatives	27.3	22.5	20.6	11.4	1.4	.6
Nonfarm laborers	9.9	1.6	5.3	.8	.5	.1
Farm laborers and foremen	1.9	.6	.9	.3	.2	.1
Farmers and farm managers	2.2	.2	2.9	.2	.8	.1
Service workers excluding private household	10.8	25.4	7.5	14.5	1.4	1.9
Private household service workers	.2	5.2	(1)	1.7	(1)	.3

[1] Less than one tenth of 1 percent.

Note.—Detail may not add to totals because of rounding.

Source: Department of Commerce, Bureau of the Census.

Casual observation of individual occupations cannot, of course, provide a comprehensive indication of whether the occupational distributions of men and women, involving numerous occupations, have moved closer together or further apart. To help answer this question, an index was constructed and calculated for 1960 and 1970 which reflects the difference (for 197 occupations) between the occupational distributions of men and women. The index displays a small move toward occupational similarity between 1960 and 1970. (See the supplement to this chapter, included in Appendix A, for a more detailed description of the index.)

Another question of interest is whether the changes in the occupational distributions of men and women were in the direction of higher economic status and, if so, how far they went. Some insight into this question is obtained by calculating an index which reflects what earnings would have been in 1950, 1960, and 1970, if earnings were the same in all 3 years and only the occupational distributions changed. Median earnings for year-round, full-time workers in each of 11 broad occupational categories were used as the constant weights to calculate such an index. The results indicated that the occupational distributions of both men and women shifted in the direction of higher-earnings occupations from 1950 to 1960 and from 1960 to 1970. However, in the earlier period men moved ahead in this respect faster than women while in the second period the changes were similar for both.

EARNINGS

In 1971 annual median earnings for women 14 years old and over were $2,986, or 40 percent of the median earnings of men. But women work fewer hours per week and fewer weeks per year. If the comparison is restricted to year-round, full-time workers, women's earnings are 60 percent of men's, that is, $5,593 compared to $9,399. An additional adjustment for differences in the average full-time workweek—full-time hours for men were about 10 percent higher than for women—brings the female-male ratio to 66 percent in 1971.

Differentials of this order of magnitude appear to have persisted since 1956 (Table 28). Indeed, a slight increase in the differential seems to have occurred from 1956 to 1969. Part of the source of the increasing differential was the relatively low rate of growth in the earnings of female clerical workers and female operatives, who in 1970 accounted for 32 percent and 14 percent, respectively, of all women workers. On the other hand, the rate of growth of earnings of women in the professions was high (a 5.1-percent annual compound rate between 1955 and 1968) relative to all workers; more recently it was even high relative to male professionals.

TABLE 28.—*Ratio of total money earnings of civilian women workers to earnings of civilian men workers, selected years, 1956–71*

Occupational group	Actual ratios					Adjusted ratios [1]	
	1956	1960	1965	1969	1971	1969	1971
Total [2]	63.3	60.7	59.9	58.9	59.5	65.9	66.1
Professional and technical workers	62.4	61.3	65.2	62.2	66.4	67.9	72.4
Teachers, primary and secondary schools	(3)	75.6	79.9	72.4	82.0	(3)	(3)
Managers, officials, and proprietors	59.1	52.9	53.2	53.1	53.0	57.2	56.8
Clerical workers	71.7	67.6	67.2	65.0	62.4	70.0	66.9
Sales workers	41.8	40.9	40.5	40.2	42.1	45.7	47.4
Craftsmen and foreman	(4)	(4)	56.7	56.7	56.4	60.8	60.2
Operatives	62.1	59.4	56.6	58.7	60.5	65.4	66.6
Service workers excluding private household workers	55.4	57.2	55.4	57.4	58.5	62.5	63.2

[1] Adjusted for differences in average full-time hours worked since full-time hours for women are typically less than full-time hours for men.
[2] Total includes occupational groups not shown separately.
[3] Not available.
[4] Base too small to be statistically significant.

Note.—Data relate to civilian workers who are employed full-time, year-round. Data for 1956 include salaried workers only, while data for later years include both salaried and self-employed workers.

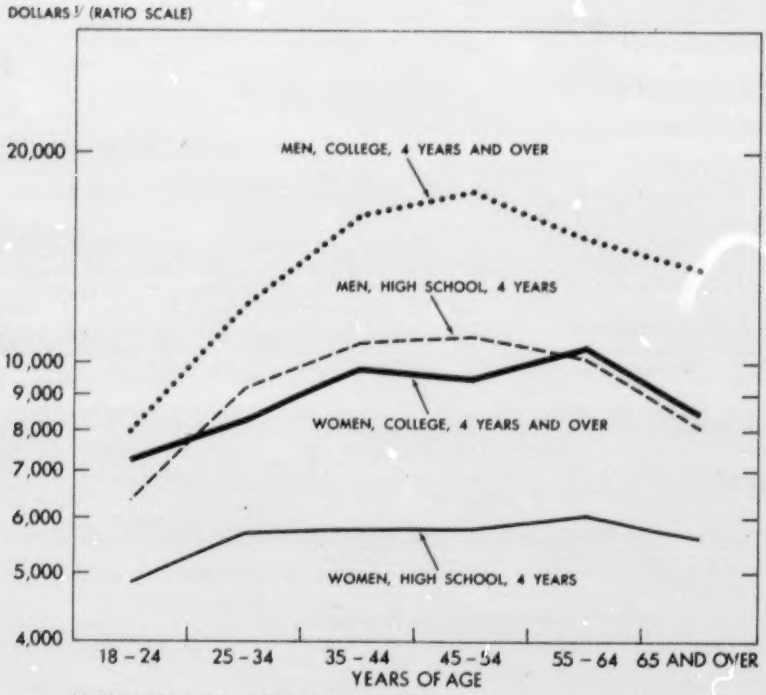
Sources: Department of Commerce, Bureau of the Census, Department of Labor, Bureau of Labor Statistics, and Council of Economic Advisers.

A large differential is also evident when the comparison is restricted to men and women of the same age and education. As Chart 10 indicates, the incomes of women do not increase with age in anything like the same way men's do. Thus the differential widens with age through much of the working life.

One important factor influencing the differential is experience. The lack of continuity in women's attachment to the labor force means that they will not have accumulated as much experience as men at a given age. The relatively steeper rise of men's income with age has been attributed to their greater accumulation of experience, of "human capital" acquired on the job. Since very few women have participated in the labor force to the same degree as men, it is difficult to set up direct comparisons between the earnings of men and women with the same lifetime pattern of work. Using data from the Labor Department's longitudinal study of women, referred to above, one study was able to compare the earnings of women working different amounts of time throughout their lives with the earnings of men, most of whom are presumed to work continuously after leaving school. The figures for men were taken from census data. The women's lifetime work experience was measured as the percentage of years each had worked since leaving school. However, a work year was crudely defined as one in which the women had worked at least 6 months. Thus no adjustment could be made for whether the years worked had been truly full-time commitments with respect to both hours worked per week and weeks worked per year.

Chart 10

Annual Income by Age, for Male and Female High School and College Graduates



1/ MEDIAN INCOME OF FULL-TIME, YEAR-ROUND WORKERS, 1971.
SOURCE: DEPARTMENT OF COMMERCE

Among the women 30–44 years old in the survey, the gain from continuous work was apparently very large. If we look only at those women who had worked year-round, full-time in 1966, the median wage and salary income for the group who had worked each year since leaving school was $5,618; for those who had worked less than 50 percent of the years since leaving school (almost half the group) the median income was $3,655. The median wage and salary income of men in the same age group who had worked full-time, year-round in 1966 was $7,529. The men are presumed to have worked continuously since leaving school. Thus the women who had worked less than half of the years since leaving school earned only 49 percent as much as men, while the small group of women who had worked each year earned 75 percent as much as men. Interestingly, single women who had worked each year since leaving school earned slightly more than single men. More sophisticated comparisons, adjusting for additional differences in

training, continuity at work, and education, can be made. One recent study found that the earnings differential was reduced to below 20 percent after taking account of such differences.

The importance of lifetime accumulated experience in influencing women's earnings suggests one possible explanation for the small decline in the ratio of women's to men's earnings between 1956 and 1969. Since the labor force participation of women has been rising rapidly, an increasing proportion of new entrants and of those with few accumulated years in the labor force could have resulted in a decline in the average experience level of all women. This drop would in turn temporarily push down the average level of earnings for all women. Unfortunately the data are not available to compare the ratio over a period of time between the earnings of women having a given number of years' experience and the earnings of men.

DIRECT DISCRIMINATION VERSUS ROLE DIFFERENTIATION

A differential, perhaps on the order of 20 percent, between the earnings of men and women remains after adjusting for factors such as education, work experience during the year, and even lifelong work experience. How much of this differential is due to differences in experience or in performance on the job which could not be measured adequately, and how much to discrimination? The question is difficult to answer, in part because there are differences of opinion about what should be classified as discrimination.

Some studies have succeeded in narrowing the male-female differential well below 20 percent. Indeed, Department of Labor surveys have found that the differential almost disappears when men's and women's earnings are compared within detailed job classifications and within the same establishment. In the very narrow sense of equal pay for the same job in the same plant there may be little difference between women and men. However, in this way the focus of the problem is shifted but not eliminated, for then we must explain why women have such a different job structure from men and why they are employed in different types of establishments.

There is clearly prejudice against women engaging in particular activities. Some patients reject women doctors, some clients reject women lawyers, some customers reject automobile saleswomen, and some workers reject women bosses. Employers also may have formulated discriminatory attitudes about women, exaggerating the risk of job instability or client acceptance and therefore excluding women from on-the-job training which would advance their careers.

In fact, even if employers do estimate correctly the average job turnover of women, women who are strongly committed to their jobs may suffer from "statistical discrimination" by being treated as though their own behavior resembled the average. The extent to which this type of discrimination occurs depends on how costly it is for employers to distinguish women who

will have a strong job commitment from those who will not. Finally, because some occupations restrict the number of newcomers they take in and because women move in and out of the labor force more often, more women than men tend to fall into the newcomer category and to be thus excluded. For example, restrictive entry policies may have kept women out of the skilled crafts.

On the other hand, as discussed above, some component of the earnings differential and of the occupational differential stems from differences in role orientation which start with differences in education and continue through marriage, where women generally are expected to assume primary responsibility for the home and subordinate their own outside work to their household responsibilities.

It is not now possible to distinguish in a quantitative way between the discrimination which bars women from jobs solely because of their sex, and the role differentiation whereby women, either through choice or necessity, restrict their careers because of the demands of their homes. Some may label the latter as a pervasive societal discrimination which starts in the cradle; nonetheless, it is useful to draw the distinction.

One other missing link in our chain of understanding of these problems is the value of the work done at home by women. One study has found that women college graduates tend to reduce their outside work when their children are small more than less educated women, and that they also devote more time to the training of their children. Of course this pattern is undoubtedly facilitated by the higher income of their husbands. However, this pattern also results in a considerable sacrifice of earnings, and one may infer that these women have therefore placed a very high value on the personal attention they can give their children. Without more information, it is difficult to evaluate the full extent to which women's capabilities have actually been underutilized by society.

SPECIAL PROBLEMS

THE FEMALE-HEADED HOUSEHOLD

In 1971, some 6 million families, about 11.5 percent of all families, were headed by women. These women are widowed, divorced, separated, or single, and many have responsibilities for the support of children in fatherless families or of other relatives. Close to two-thirds of all female-headed families include children; the average number of children under 18 years of age in a female-headed family with children was about 2.3 in 1971, about the same as in male-headed families with children.

As a result of the division of labor within families, the average woman who has been married has not had the same labor market experience or vocationally oriented training as her husband. Unless she has a substantial alimony or pension, she is likely to face financial difficulties. The median income of female-headed families was $5,116 in 1971, less than half the in-

come of male-headed families ($10,930). When women who head families were full-time, year-round workers, the family's median income was $7,916; but only 32 percent of women heading families were able to be full-time, year-round workers. And the woman who heads a family and works has additional expenses of child care and other home care expenses.

The problems faced by the woman who heads a household are particularly acute if the woman is black, and 27 percent of women heading households are black. For this group, median family income was only $3,645 in 1971. Although, at higher education levels, black women now earn amounts comparable to white women, those black women who head families are at a disadvantage compared to white women. The median personal income of white women heading households and working year-round, full-time was $6,527 in 1971, compared to $5,227 for black women in the same position.

As a result of the combination of a large number of dependents and the difficulty of maintaining the dual responsibility of monetary support and home care, many female-headed families fall below the low-income level. In 1971, 34 percent of female-headed families were below the low-income level, compared to 7 percent for male-headed families. Among black households with a female head, 54 percent were below the low-income level. A large proportion receive public assistance. In 1971, 30 percent of the women heading households received public assistance payments.

It has been suggested, though not proved, that widespread availability of public assistance has encouraged husbands to desert their wives or wives to leave their husbands in families where the husband earns little more than the amount of welfare benefits his family would be entitled to in his absence. Remarriage may also be discouraged because the low-income mother would then lose her entire public stipend, including the child support portion, and without some outside child support a man might be reluctant to marry a woman with several children.

Among the women who are now welfare recipients many are handicapped by lack of education and training and are not in a position to earn an income that would lift them and their families above poverty levels. A program established in 1967, the Work Incentive Program, now gives many mothers currently on welfare, training and placement assistance so that they can improve their ability to support themselves and their dependents.

THE INCOME TAX

Devising a tax system which is equitable and efficient has always posed formidable problems, and often the best solution is one involving compromise with one or more of the objectives. The tax treatment of working wives is one of the more difficult problems. The income tax law as such treats men and women equally and, indeed, its effects on single men and single women are the same. However, some of the features of the tax structure, which have been considered desirable for other purposes, have, as a

by-product, unequal effects on the second earner of a married couple, who is usually the wife.

Only income arising from market transactions is taxed. Indeed, there is no practical way to assign a market value to the unpaid work performed at home and then subject it to the tax. As a result, the tax system imposes a general bias in the economy favoring unpaid work at home compared to paid work in the market. However, the bias and the resulting disincentive toward market work are particularly relevant for the married woman who traditionally has done more work at home.

An equity problem also arises from this situation. To use a hypothetical example, a husband and wife each earning $8,000 would pay the same income tax as a couple where the husband alone works and earns $16,000, although the couple with two earners will have the additional expenses of buying the services which would be produced at home and untaxed if the wife did not work.

There is the further problem that a married couple may pay more or less income tax than two single persons whose combined income equals the couple's, depending upon how the income is divided between the two individuals. This problem reflects a basic ambivalence about whether the appropriate unit of taxation is the individual or the family.

Remedies for the situation are not easy to find. One suggestion has been to allow working wives to deduct a given percentage of their earnings from their income for tax purposes. However, this would be unfair to single persons, who also incur expenses of going to work. A general earned income credit has also been suggested, but this creates a bias against investments in capital and in favor of wage income.

As discussed below, the Revenue Act of 1971 has given expanded tax relief to working wives with children by allowing more liberalized child care deductions to couples within a given income range. This provision, however, does not affect couples without children or couples with combined incomes outside the allowable income range.

CHILD CARE

Provision for child care is a cost to working mothers and a major obstacle to the employment of many other mothers who would work outside the home if they could find satisfactory arrangements for taking care of their children. As more mothers have taken jobs outside the home, and more weigh the possibility of doing so, several major questions about child care have become intense national issues.

One question is whether the Government should pay for part or all of the cost of child care. This question is usually raised about the Federal Government, but it could be equally asked about State or local governments. According to one view of the matter parents have chosen to have children, which implies a certain allocation of their resources, therefore they have no reason to burden other taxpayers to look after the children. Another view of

the matter is that Government subsidies can be justified and different groups have cited different reasons. The point has been made that the pressures of custom result in a bias against the wife going to work while the husband stays home with the children. A child-care subsidy for working mothers would help remove any harmful effects of this cultural bias. Another reason given is that there is a national interest in the proper care of children, who are, of course, the future nation, and that this case justifies Government subsidies. The analogy commonly given is to public education.

Government has given subsidies to families with children but there has been no consistent philosophy behind them. At the extreme, with respect to children in very poor families, we have long recognized the need for public assistance in the form of the program of Aid to Families with Dependent Children. This program is not specifically addressed to children with working mothers. In fact, until recently it was tilted *against* helping working mothers. The Federal Government also provides a form of assistance for child care through the income tax. With the Revenue Act of 1971, a much more liberal deduction than had ever been provided was instituted specifically for child-care expenses incurred by working wives. Below a combined husband-wife income of $18,000, a working wife can now deduct up to $400 a month for child care expenses. The deduction is scaled downwards to zero as combined income goes from $18,000 to $27,600. The two groups not covered are women whose family income is too low to benefit from a tax deduction and women at the other end of the income scale.

Public discussion of Government support for child care has not clearly distinguished among several possible objectives:

(a) To reward and assist the care of all small children;
(b) To assist the care of small children whose parents might not be otherwise able to care for them;
(c) To assist the care of the small children of working mothers;
(d) To assist in the care of small children in a particular way—through day-care institutions, or at home, etc.

Both the amount of Government support that is desirable, and the form it should take if it is to be provided, depend on the choice made among these objectives.

Recently, publicly supported institutional group care, or day care, has received considerable attention as one approach to helping the working mother. Some have also stressed day care as a developmental program. It may be noted that a very small proportion of working women have depended on group day care in an institutional center. A Government-sponsored survey of 1965 found that, among employed mothers of children under 6, only 6.4 percent depended on school or group care centers. About 47 percent of the women arranged to have their children cared for at home, often by a relative. The rest mainly arranged for care in someone else's home (31 percent) or looked after the child while working (15 percent).

Some have attributed the low use of day care to a failure of the market to provide a service that would be utilized if financing were available. Others have interpreted it as an indication that the true demand for institutional day care is low. Even among more affluent and knowledgeable working mothers who presumably could afford it, dependence on institutional group care is low. A survey of college graduates found that in 1964, among those who worked and who had children under 6 years, 9 percent used group care, which included nursery schools, kindergartens, and day-care centers. Most (73 percent) arranged for care in their own home.

Whether institutional day care provides the best use of dollars spent on child care has yet to be established. While this issue has not been resolved, it is clear that the problems of mothers who want and need to work require serious attention and a continuing search for new solutions.

GOVERNMENT ACTION

Government has been profoundly concerned with promoting full equality of opportunity for women within both the public and the private sectors. Two approaches have been followed. The first involves the use of law and regulations where they are both applicable and compatible with other goals of a democratic society.

A number of laws have been passed and Executive Orders issued which deal with discrimination by employers. Included are the Equal Pay Act of 1963, requiring employers to compensate men and women in the same establishment equally for work of equivalent skill and responsibility, and Title VII of the Civil Rights Act of 1964, which pronibits discrimination in hiring, discharging, compensation, and other aspects of employment. Title VII is administered by the Equal Employment Opportunity Commission (EEOC). The Equal Employment Opportunity Act, signed by the President in 1972, gave the EEOC enforcement power through the courts in sex-discrimination cases. In December 1971, Order No. 4, under Executive Order 11246, was extended to women. This Order requires Federal contractors employing more than 50 workers and holding contracts of $50,000 or more to formulate written affirmative action plans, with goals and timetables, to ensure equal opportunities. Title IX of the Education Amendments of 1972 prohibits discrimination in educational programs or activities on the basis of sex.

The Equal Rights Amendment to the Constitution, which was strongly supported by the President, passed the Senate on March 22, 1972, and has now been ratified by 22 States. The proposed amendment would provide that "equality of rights under the law shall not be denied or abridged by the United States or by any State on account of sex," and would authorize the Congress and the States to enforce the amendment by appropriate legislation. The purpose of the proposed amendment would be to provide constitutional protection against laws and official practices that treat men and women differently.

The other approach of Government to providing equality to women has been through leadership. The Women's Bureau in the Department of Labor has for 50 years been concerned with the problems of women at work. Recently, several new groups, each concerned with different areas affecting women, have been formed. The formation of the Advisory Committee on the Economic Role of Women is one such effort. The Citizen's Advisory Council on the Status of Women is another. The latter is a council of private citizens appointed by the President, which surveys the social and political issues of particular interest to women and makes recommendations for legislation or other suitable social action. In an effort to recruit women to top-level jobs in the Government, the President in 1971 appointed to the White House staff a special assistant for this purpose. As a result many women have been placed in key policy making positions, positions never before held by women.

It is only in the past few years that the problems women face as a group have been given the widespread recognition they deserve. There is much to be learned before we can even ask all the appropriate questions. Many of the problems involve profound issues of family and social organization. By listening to diverse groups and to the discussion of the public it is hoped that Government will be able to find its appropriate role. We believe that the newly formed Advisory Committee on the Economic Role of Women will contribute to that process.

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SUPPLEMENT TO CHAPTER 4

In order to answer the question whether the occupational distribution of women has moved closer to that of men's, an index of occupational dissimilarity was constructed for 1960 and 1970. The particular measure of dissimilarity used here is calculated by taking the absolute difference (for each of 197 occupations) between the percentage of the female experienced civilian labor force in a given occupation and the percentage of the male experienced civilian labor force in the same occupation, summing these differences across the 197 occupations, and then dividing this sum by 2. Those persons in the experienced labor force who did not report their occupation were excluded from the denominator. If men and women were to have the identical occupational distributions then the value of the index would be 0. At the other extreme, if men and women were completely occupationally segregated, so that they were never in the same occupation, the index would have a value of 1.

The values of the occupational dissimilarity index, calculated as described, were as follows:

1960	.629
1970	.598

The index therefore indicates a very small change in the direction of increased occupational similarity between 1960 and 1970. The data for the calculations were taken from the decennial censuses of 1960 and 1970.

In Table 33, women's representation in a group of detailed occupations is given for 1950, 1960, and 1970.

TABLE 33.—*Women in experienced civilian labor force, 1950, 1960, and 1970*

(14 years of age and over)

Occupational group	Number of women (thousands)			Women as percent of all persons in occupation		
	1950	1960	1970	1950	1960	1970
TOTAL	16,481.9	22,303.7	30,601.0	28.1	32.8	38.0
Professional and technical workers	1,896.9	2,723.9	4,397.6	39.0	38.4	39.9
Accountants	57.0	81.9	187.0	14.9	16.5	26.2
Architects	.9	.8	2.0	3.8	2.1	3.6
Engineers	6.7	7.2	20.3	1.3	.8	1.6
Farm and home management advisers	5.0	6.4	6.5	46.1	47.2	49.7
Lawyers and judges	7.0	7.5	13.4	4.1	3.5	4.9
Librarians	50.7	64.6	101.5	88.8	85.4	82.0
Life and physical scientists	12.6	15.2	29.2	11.0	9.2	13.7
Personnel and labor relations workers	15.0	34.2	91.7	28.3	33.1	30.9
Pharmacists	7.4	7.2	13.3	8.7	7.5	12.0
Physicians, medical and osteopathic	12.3	16.2	26.1	6.7	6.9	9.3
Dietitians	21.7	24.8	37.8	96.5	92.7	92.0
Registered nurses	399.2	613.7	819.3	97.6	97.5	97.3
Therapists	(1)	16.4	48.5	(1)	63.4	63.5
Health technicians	46.3	88.0	184.1	57.4	68.2	69.7
Clergymen	7.3	4.7	6.3	4.4	2.3	2.9
Other religious workers	28.7	38.6	20.1	69.9	63.3	55.7

TABLE 33.—*Women in experienced civilian labor force, 1950, 1960, and 1970*—Continued

(14 years of age and over)

Occupational group	Number of women (thousands)			Women as percent of all persons in occupation		
	1950	1960	1970	1950	1960	1970
Professional and technical workers—Cont'd.						
Social scientists	11.3	15.1	32.0	32.9	25.4	23.2
Social workers	54.0	59.4	138.9	69.3	62.8	62.8
Recreation workers	7.7	14.9	22.5	45.4	51.2	42.0
Teachers, elementary	(1)	851.2	1,199.4	(1)	85.8	83.7
Teachers, secondary	(1)	280.5	498.7	(1)	49.3	49.3
Teachers, college and university	27.8	46.5	140.4	22.4	23.9	28.6
Engineering and science technicians	(1)	43.5	68.7	(1)	11.1	12.9
Draftsmen	7.2	12.3	23.6	6.0	5.6	8.0
Radio operators	1.7	3.1	7.6	10.2	16.7	25.9
Authors	5.8	7.3	7.7	36.5	25.5	29.1
Dancers	(1)	3.9	5.7	(1)	86.0	81.3
Designers	10.7	13.4	27.2	26.7	19.3	24.2
Editors and reporters	29.4	39.0	61.5	32.1	36.6	40.6
Musicians and composers	(1)	29.8	33.5	(1)	38.6	34.8
Photographers	8.6	6.5	9.5	16.2	12.2	14.2
Other professional, technical, and kindred workers	(1)	270.1	513.9	(1)	33.9	32.9
Managers and administrators, except farm	680.8	844.5	1,034.3	13.7	14.8	16.6
Buyers, wholesale and retail trade	35.5	34.2	52.8	24.6	35.6	29.8
Credit men	6.6	12.0	17.0	19.2	25.1	28.3
Public administrators and postal inspectors	2.5	3.1	6.2	4.4	3.9	6.1
Managers and superintendents, building	22.9	20.0	34.0	34.2	43.6	40.2
Administrators, n.e.c., Federal	5.2	12.1	20.4	10.6	15.3	16.9
Administrators, n.e.c., State	2.1	4.8	6.5	9.5	12.8	13.4
Administrators, n.e.c., local	18.8	17.2	20.6	22.9	21.8	26.2
Officials of societies and unions	3.2	5.1	8.2	10.9	11.8	16.2
Postmasters and mail superintendents	17.3	15.0	11.3	44.9	39.3	31.8
Purchasing agents and buyers, n.e.c.	6.2	10.3	22.5	9.5	9.2	13.7
Restaurant, cafeteria and bar managers	93.9	95.5	112.6	26.9	32.5	34.2
Other specified managers and administrators, except farm	(1)	72.4	223.4	(1)	14.9	18.4
Managers and administrators, n.e.c., salaried:						
Construction	2.0	5.0	8.0	2.7	3.4	3.1
Manufacturing	27.8	45.0	43.0	6.6	7.1	6.3
Transportation	4.2	10.8	17.6	4.4	8.7	12.3
Communication and utilities	5.7	11.3	13.3	9.7	11.0	11.8
Wholesale trade	8.3	14.3	18.9	5.4	7.0	7.4
Retail, hardware, etc.	1.4	2.3	2.7	3.3	4.3	5.1
Retail, general merchandise	13.6	23.6	25.4	23.2	26.2	24.6
Retail, foodstores	12.7	9.5	17.3	12.8	8.9	12.3
Retail, motor vehicles and accessories	2.4	3.9	5.7	4.3	4.4	5.4
Retail, apparel and accessories	14.1	17.0	19.9	33.5	33.5	34.2
Retail, furniture, etc.	3.1	3.4	5.3	11.2	10.7	12.1
Other retail trade	13.7	14.7	24.2	12.4	11.9	13.1
Finance, insurance and real estate	25.4	47.9	32.8	13.9	14.7	17.5
Business and repair services	6.1	16.1	19.8	10.8	16.8	14.0
Personal services	21.2	28.7	36.0	33.7	35.8	26.8
All other industries	39.6	64.5	64.0	25.3	27.8	26.8
Managers and administrators, n.e.c., self-employed:						
Construction	2.6	2.9	2.8	1.3	1.3	1.9
Manufacturing	15.2	11.8	6.0	6.5	6.9	9.1
Transportation	2.4	4.6	2.1	4.6	10.6	9.8
Wholesale trade	7.1	6.9	4.5	4.0	5.0	8.1
Retail, hardware, etc.	3.8	3.4	2.4	4.7	5.1	8.4
Retail, general merchandise	15.1	10.8	8.0	23.6	23.3	32.4
Retail, food	70.6	42.7	30.1	18.4	19.4	26.1
Retail, gas service stations	5.2	4.1	3.5	3.6	2.7	3.4
Retail, apparel and accessories stores	24.4	19.2	10.0	29.5	33.7	41.9
Retail, furniture, etc.	4.9	4.5	3.7	7.3	9.2	13.6
Other retail trade	38.8	32.8	27.4	14.3	15.9	25.1
Finance, insurance and real estate	7.2	8.3	3.0	10.9	11.5	12.6
Business and repair services	7.4	8.1	6.2	6.0	8.4	11.9
Personal services	39.5	43.6	27.8	28.0	33.1	31.3
All other industries	14.7	21.3	7.4	14.2	20.3	22.1

TABLE 33.—*Women in experienced civilian labor force, 1950, 1960, and 1970*—Continued

(14 years of age and over)

Occupational group	Number of women (thousands)			Women as percent of all persons in occupation		
	1950	1960	1970	1950	1960	1970
Sales workers	1,374.7	1,736.0	2,096.7	34.2	36.2	38.6
Advertising agents and salesmen	5.3	4.9	13.0	15.1	13.9	20.1
Demonstrators	11.0	26.7	36.7	77.5	93.2	91.1
Hucksters and peddlers	3.5	37.7	96.4	14.9	60.5	74.7
Insurance agents, brokers, and underwriters	27.3	36.1	57.6	8.9	9.7	14.5
Newsboys	4.1	8.6	13.9	3.8	4.3	7.4
Real estate agents and brokers	22.1	46.8	85.2	15.6	23.9	32.0
Sales representatives, manufacturing	23.0	50.8	36.8	7.2	10.7	8.8
Sales representatives, wholesale	15.3	21.3	42.8	3.8	4.2	6.6
Salesmen and clerks, retail	1,228.9	1,451.4	1,619.4	48.9	54.4	56.5
Other salesworkers	34.3	51.8	94.8	23.0	20.2	27.0
Clerical and kindred workers	4,343.4	6,407.0	9,910.0	61.9	67.9	73.6
Bank tellers	27.7	94.6	218.6	44.6	70.2	86.2
Bookkeepers	566.3	793.6	1,291.7	77.4	83.4	82.0
Cashiers	193.7	393.1	734.8	81.4	77.1	83.7
Collectors, bill and account	3.9	6.7	19.2	16.0	20.0	36.2
Dispatchers and starters, vehicle	4.1	5.2	10.5	12.7	10.8	17.1
Library attendants and assistants	9.1	28.1	101.2	76.7	75.7	78.6
Mail carriers, post office	3.4	4.4	20.5	2.0	2.2	8.0
Messengers and office boys	10.9	9.3	12.1	18.6	14.7	19.7
Office machine operators	119.5	239.1	423.1	81.6	74.4	74.0
Shipping and receiving clerks	20.3	26.4	62.9	6.8	8.1	14.7
Stenographers, typists, and secretaries	1,524.9	2,233.5	3,786.9	94.6	96.5	96.6
Telegraph operators	7.6	4.7	3.7	21.6	22.8	29.4
Telephone operators	349.2	356.2	398.3	95.8	95.8	94.5
Ticket, station, and express agents	7.9	16.2	36.7	12.7	21.8	36.7
Other clerical workers	1,494.9	2,196.0	2,789.8	47.2	54.6	58.9
Craftsmen	247.3	295.3	524.1	3.1	3.1	5.0
Bakers	13.9	21.4	33.9	11.6	18.2	30.0
Bookbinders	19.5	17.6	20.9	58.1	58.9	58.1
Compositors and typesetters	12.2	16.2	24.9	6.9	8.4	15.3
Decorators and window dressers	14.0	24.4	41.9	31.9	46.3	57.7
Electricians	2.1	2.8	9.3	.6	.8	1.9
Linemen and servicemen, telegraph, telephone, and power	5.1	5.6	10.7	2.4	2.1	2.7
Engravers, except photoengravers	1.4	2.1	2.5	14.5	17.9	27.5
Foremen, nonmanufacturing	18.2	22.8	51.1	5.3	4.4	7.5
Foremen, manufacturing	51.2	58.2	80.9	10.0	8.8	8.7
Inspectors	7.3	6.6	9.7	7.7	6.5	8.0
Machinists	7.6	7.4	12.8	1.5	1.4	3.3
Mechanics and repairmen, except air, auto	16.6	15.4	35.0	1.6	1.1	2.5
Aircraft mechanics	1.0	1.9	4.5	1.3	1.6	3.1
Auto mechanics	4.3	2.4	12.9	.6	.4	1.4
Opticians, lensgrinders and polishers	2.4	3.2	6.5	12.1	15.3	23.1
Painters, construction and maintenance	9.1	7.1	14.8	2.1	1.8	4.1
Pressmen and plate printers, printing	2.5	5.1	14.1	4.8	6.1	8.8
Stationary engineers	1.8	1.6	2.6	.8	.6	1.5
Tailors	16.3	23.1	22.5	19.3	26.5	31.7
Upholsterers	5.5	6.2	10.7	8.7	9.9	16.5
Other craftsmen	35.3	44.2	101.8	1.1	1.3	2.8
Operatives	3,190.8	3,521.2	4,222.6	27.4	28.7	31.5
Dressmakers and seamstresses, except factory	140.3	121.7	96.9	97.3	96.7	95.0
Filers, polishers, sanders and buffers	7.3	21.0	26.9	4.8	13.8	21.8
Laundry and drycleaning operatives	302.7	282.9	261.0	67.6	65.3	69.8
Meatcutters and butchers, except manufacturing	3.8	5.8	11.2	2.2	3.1	5.4
Milliners	12.5	3.9	2.1	89.4	90.7	89.4
Painters, manufactured articles	14.8	16.5	18.6	12.1	13.5	15.3
Photographic process workers	13.5	21.5	31.4	43.7	45.8	46.9
Sawyers	2.6	2.4	9.6	2.6	2.3	8.9
Textile operatives	(1)	278.5	247.6	(1)	53.2	54.8
Bus drivers	4.5	18.6	67.1	2.9	10.1	28.0
Deliverymen and routemen	4.3	15.0	21.3	1.7	3.3	3.3
Taxicab drivers and chauffeurs	3.4	4.6	9.0	1.6	2.7	5.7
Truckdrivers	8.6	8.3	21.6	.6	.5	1.5
Other specified operatives	(1)	2,060.6	2,602.1	(1)	36.7	39.1

TABLE 33.—*Women in experienced civilian labor force, 1950, 1960, and 1970*—Continued

(14 years of age and over)

Occupational group	Number of women (thousands)			Women as percent of all persons in occupation		
	1950	1960	1970	1950	1960	1970
Operatives—Cont'd.						
Miscellaneous and not specified operatives, n.e.c.	(1)	660.0	796.2	(1)	25.7	29.6
Lumber and wood products	(1)	10.6	11.7	(1)	11.4	15.1
Furniture and fixtures	(1)	8.3	14.9	(1)	15.6	28.1
Stone, clay, and glass products	(1)	16.5	19.7	(1)	15.1	18.7
Primary metal industries	(1)	6.9	12.7	(1)	3.8	7.1
Fabricated metal industries	(1)	27.9	33.1	(1)	19.7	22.9
Machinery, except electrical	(1)	16.3	25.7	(1)	11.8	16.0
Electrical machinery, equipment, and supplies	(1)	79.3	113.8	(1)	50.3	55.2
Transportation equipment	(1)	15.4	27.1	(1)	10.7	16.1
Professional and photographic equipment, and watches	(1)	15.8	19.5	(1)	42.6	48.8
Miscellaneous manufacturing industries	(1)	57.2	66.5	(1)	34.2	39.0
Food and kindred products	(1)	91.8	76.6	(1)	31.5	34.8
Tobacco manufactures	(1)	17.7	10.3	(1)	54.9	51.6
Apparel and other fabricated textile products	(1)	87.4	74.5	(1)	74.0	75.5
Paper and allied products	(1)	46.4	43.0	(1)	25.5	23.7
Printing, publishing, etc.	(1)	32.4	36.7	(1)	42.4	45.5
Chemicals, etc.	(1)	18.5	25.5	(1)	12.4	17.0
Rubber and miscellaneous plastic	(1)	31.9	60.7	(1)	26.4	35.1
Leather products	(1)	18.2	26.3	(1)	43.9	57.6
Wholesale and retail	(1)	35.5	47.1	(1)	31.4	30.6
Business and repair services	(1)	5.4	8.1	(1)	10.9	14.7
Public administration	(1)	2.3	3.7	(1)	13.3	16.2
Other nonmanufacturing	(1)	18.2	38.9	(1)	12.0	21.0
Laborers, except farm	134.1	193.1	294.6	3.6	5.1	8.4
Miscellaneous and not specified laborers	(1)	61.2	75.0	(1)	5.3	10.9
Lumber and wood products, except furniture	(1)	.6	1.8	(1)	1.3	7.0
Stone, clay, and glass products	(1)	2.5	1.6	(1)	4.7	6.6
Metal industries	(1)	4.5	6.3	(1)	2.1	6.1
Electrical machinery, equipment, and supplies	(1)	4.2	4.3	(1)	18.3	32.7
Food and kindred products	(1)	10.1	6.5	(1)	11.2	14.9
Textile mill products	(1)	1.9	2.6	(1)	13.9	22.1
Apparel and other fabricated textile products	(1)	1.7	1.8	(1)	43.0	49.3
Leather and leather products	(1)	1.6	1.4	(1)	19.2	34.8
Other manufacturing	(1)	16.0	17.1	(1)	7.6	14.4
Transportation, communication, and public utilities	(1)	2.9	3.2	(1)	1.5	3.0
Wholesale and retail trade	(1)	3.9	11.5	(1)	3.0	11.8
Public administration	(1)	.4	1.5	(1)	1.1	7.3
Other nonmanufacturing industries	(1)	11.0	15.4	(1)	7.7	13.1
Other nonfarm laborers	(1)	132.1	220.0	(1)	5.1	7.8
Farm workers	602.2	394.8	222.3	8.8	9.6	9.5
Farmers, owners, and tenants	118.3	119.0	59.9	2.8	4.8	4.6
Farm managers	2.4	.7	2.7	6.5	2.9	4.4
Farm laborers, wage workers	148.9	147.6	117.7	9.5	11.5	13.9
Farm laborers, unpaid family workers	330.7	126.8	39.3	35.1	44.4	36.2
Other farm laborers	2.0	.7	2.7	7.2	2.2	7.1

TABLE 33.—*Women in experienced civilian labor force, 1950, 1960, and 1970*—Continued

(14 years of age and over)

Occupational group	Number of women (thousands)			Women as percent of all persons in occupation		
	1950	1960	1970	1950	1960	1970
Service workers	3,564.1	4,890.3	5,751.9	58.1	61.9	60.0
Cleaners and charwomen	75.3	167.7	266.1	60.5	41.7	56.6
Janitors and sextons	56.5	91.3	165.2	12.0	11.6	12.7
Bartenders	13.1	20.5	41.9	6.4	11.1	21.1
Cooks, except private household	257.1	385.4	550.5	55.2	63.9	62.1
Counter and fountain workers	47.4	119.4	126.3	50.9	70.9	75.0
Waiters and waitresses	579.8	780.0	1,002.4	81.8	86.8	89.0
Practical nurses	138.4	166.5	233.2	96.4	95.4	96.4
Other health services	232.0	445.0	847.4	72.6	73.4	86.7
Attendants, recreation and amusement	5.2	13.0	19.7	7.9	17.6	23.6
Attendants, personal service, n.e.c.	33.5	46.8	40.9	67.2	55.6	62.6
Boarding and lodging housekeepers	23.6	26.4	5.4	75.6	88.5	71.9
Elevator operators	27.0	24.9	10.2	29.1	32.5	27.6
Barbers, hairdressers, and cosmetologists	193.2	278.0	442.4	49.2	56.9	68.0
Housekeepers, except private household	85.8	51.0	76.6	77.2	73.6	71.8
Guards and watchmen	5.3	5.2	17.0	2.1	2.0	5.2
Policemen and detectives	3.9	7.0	13.5	2.0	2.7	3.6
Other protective service workers	2.1	14.2	28.7	1.5	7.1	11.0
Other service workers, except private household	345.2	496.8	761.5	45.4	68.8	66.0
Housekeepers, private household	147.4	149.0	101.5	97.6	95.5	96.2
Laundresses, private household	73.3	40.7	11.9	97.0	98.2	94.8
Other private household workers	1,219.1	1,561.9	989.7	94.5	96.5	96.6
Occupation not reported	447.6	1,297.7	2,147.1	35.2	37.6	41.5

[1] Data are not available because of changes in classification.
n.e.c.=not elsewhere classified.

Note: Occupational classifications in this table are not exactly comparable with Census classifications because of regrouping detailed occupations.
Detail for 1950 is not always strictly comparable with later years because of changes in classification.
The data are based on samples drawn from the decennial censuses. The sample sizes are: 1950, 3⅓ percent; 1960, 25 percent; 1970, 20 percent.
Detail may not add to totals because of rounding.

Sources: Department of Commerce, Bureau of the Census, and Council of Economic Advisers.

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